

Message Text

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PAGE 01 TOKYO 01153 01 OF 02 281118Z

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ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20

USIA-15 AID-20 OMB-01 EB-11 COME-00 TRSE-00 DRC-01

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R 280300Z JAN 74

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9538

INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK

AMEMBASSY CANBERRA

AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR

AMEMBASSY MANILA

AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE

AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 2 TOKYO 1153

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, JA

SUBJECT: TANAKA TRIP TO SOUTHEAST ASIA: INITIAL GOJ AND PRESS
REACTIONS

SUMMARY: SOUTHEAST ASIAN ANTIPATHIES TOWARD JAPANESE
AS DEMONSTRATED DURING TANAKA TRIP HAVE BEEN SUBJECT
OF EXTENDED ANALYSIS IN MEDIA. DOMINANT THEME IS
NECESSITY FOR JAPAN TO QTE SELF REFLECT UNQTE. FAR
FROM CONDEMNING SOUTHEAST ASIANS, BLAME HAS BEEN LAID
AT FEET OF GOJ FOR MISGUIDED AID POLICY AND JAPANESE
BUSINESSMEN FOR AVARICE AND INSENSITIVITY. DESPITE WAVE
OF CRITICISM, TO DATE SIGNS ARE VERY MEAGER THAT
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PAGE 02 TOKYO 01153 01 OF 02 281118Z

ANY MAJOR CHANGES IN PREVAILING POLICIES AND

PRACTICES WILL TAKE PLACE. END SUMMARY.

1. PRIMIN TANAKA'S JANUARY 7 TO 17 TRIP TO MANILA, BANGKOK, KUALA LUMPUR, SINGAPORE AND JAKARTA WAS FULLY AND OBJECTIVELY REPORTED THROUGHOUT BY JAPANESE MEDIA, INCLUDING EXTENSIVE ACCOUNTS OF DEMONSTRATIONS IN BANGKOK AND JAKARTA. THIS MESSAGE SUMMARIZES (A) PUBLIC COMMENTS BY GOJ OFFICIALS INCLUDING THOSE WHICH TANAKA MADE ON HIS RETURN TO JAPAN; AND (B) EDITORIAL REACTION WHICH APPEARED DURING WEEK FOLLOWING TANAKA'S RETURN AND FOCUSING ESPECIALLY ON HOSTILITY TO TANAKA AND JAPANESE IN GENERAL. SEPARATE MESSAGES WILL SUMMARIZE STUDIED REACTIONS OF BUREAUCRATS AND THEIR PRESCRIPTIONS FOR REMEDIAL ACTION.

2. OFFICIAL COMMENT. AS TANAKA TRIP BEGAN TO RUN INTO DIFFICULTIES IN BANGKOK, GOJ SPOKESMEN ISSUED ANODYNE AND TEMPORIZING STATEMENTS, BUT THESE SOON PROVED INADEQUATE IN FACE OF SIZE AND DESTRUCTIVENESS OF JAKARTA RIOTS. WHILE TANAKA WAS STILL IN JAKARTA, CHIEF CABINET SECRETARY NIKAI DO TOLD NEWSMEN THAT (A) GOJ DEPLORED VIOLENCE WHICH HAD OCCURRED BUT CONSIDERED IT QTE MAJOR LESSON UNQTE IN FORMULATING AND IMPLEMENTING ASIAN POLICY; (B) GOJ REJECTED NOTION THAT TANAKA SHOULD NOT HAVE MADE TRIP, BECUASE IT WAS STILL VERY IMPORTANT FOR TOP INDONESIAN AND JAPANESE LEADERS TO DISCUSS DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS; BUT (C) HE ADMITTED GOVERNMENT MUST STUDY HOW TO INDUCE JAPANES

BUSINESSMEN TO EXERCISE MODERATION IN THEIR OVERSEAS ENTERPRISES. EXPANDING LATTER POINT, NIKAI DO SIAD PRIVATE ENTERPRISES MUST LEARN TO RETURN PART OF PROFITS TO LOCAL CIRCLES INSTEAD OF PRUSUING ONLY OWN INTERSTS, AND THAT IN FUTURE INVESTIGATIONS OF PROJECTS SHOULD BE CONDUCTED WITH PARTICIPATION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND STUDENTS. ON SAME DAY, FONMIN OHIRA TOLD NEWS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 03 TOKYO 01153 01 OF 02 281118Z

CONFERENCE THAT WHILE JAPANESE SHOULD SEEK DEEP UNDERSTANDING OF LOCAL CUSTOMS, MORES AND SENTIMENTS, SOUTHEAST ASIAN PEOPLES IN TURN SHOULD QTE EVALUATE ON COOL-HEADED BASIS UNQTE GOODWILL OF JAPANESE AND JAPANESE CONTRIBUTIONS TO LOCAL ECONOMIES AND DAILY LIVES OF CITIZENS.

3. FIRST INDICATION OF TANKA'S REACTION, AFTER

HIS RETURN TO TOKYO, CAME IN GOVERNMENT
SPOKESMAN'S BRIEFING ON PRIMIN'S REPORT TO CABINET,
WHICH MADE FOLLOWING PTINTS: (A) SOUTHEAST ASIAN
NATIONS ARE COUNTING ON JAPAN'S ASSISTANCE IN
ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT, AND
ARRANGEMENTS FOR TECHNICAL DISCUSSIONS HAVE NOW
BEEN COMPLETED AS OUTGROWTH OF TRIP; (B) EFFECTS
OF OIL CRISIS ON JAPANESE PRODUCTIVITY WILL DEAL
BLOW TO SOUTHEAST ASIAN NATIONS WHICH COUNT ON
IMPORTING INDUSTRIAL RAW MATERIALS; (C) JAPANESE
ENTERPRISES, IF THEY ARE TO ADVANCE IN SOUTHEAST
ASIA, MUST UNDERSTAND LOCAL CUSTOMS AND TRADITIONS;
THEREFORE (D) EVEN ECONOMIC COOPERATION MUST BE
EXTENDED WITH UNDERSTANDING OF DIFFERING VIEWPOINTS
OF COUNTRIES CONCERNED.

4. IN 30-MINUTE TELEVISED PRESS CONFERENCE JAN. 18,
TANAKA REPORTED ON TRIP TO JAPANESE PEOPLE. HE
EXPRESSED BELIEF THAT, DESPITE DEMONSTRATIONS THAT
MARRED VISITS TO BANGKOK AND JAKARTA, TRIP HAD
POSITIVE BENEFIT BECAUSE IT AFFORDED OPPORTUNITY
TO HOLD FRANK DISCUSSIONS WITH LEADERS AND
STUDENTS ABOUT CAUSES OF TENSIONS BETWEEN
JAPAN AND THEIR COUNTRIES. HE CONFIRMED THAT
LANGUAGE BARRIER EXISTS, REVIEWED COMPLAINTS
HE RECEIVED THAT JAPANESE TEND TO BE EXCLUSIVE
AND DO NOT ASSOCIATE WITH LOCAL PEOPLE, CONVEYED
WISHES OF SOUTHEAST ASIANS THAT JAPANESE QTE SHARE
SAME TABLE WITH THEM UNQTE AND URGED JAPANESE
TO STUDY LOCAL LANGUAGES AND SOCIALIZE MORE FREELY

WITH LOCAL PEOPLE. HE SAID HE IN TURN HAD CRITICIZED
SOUTHEAST ASIAN LEADERS FOR FAILURE TO INFORM
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PAGE 04 TOKYO 01153 01 OF 02 281118Z

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PAGE 01 TOKYO 01153 02 OF 02 280454Z

14
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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 2 OF 2 TOKYO 1153

THEIR PEOPLE OF IMPORTANCE OF CONTINUED ECONOMIC
COOPERATION WITH JAPAN TO THEIR OWN WELL-BEING.
IN CONCLUSION HE SOUGHT TO REASSURE JAPANESE TV
VIEWERS THAT SOUTHEAST ASIANS GREATLY RESPECT
JAPAN'S ACCOMPLISHMENTS, AND DIGRESSED TO COMMENT
THAT SOME OLDER SOUTHEAST ASIANS RECALL JAPANESE
MILITARY PRESENCE LONG AGO WITH CERTAIN NOSTALGIA.
(COMMENT: WE FOUND PRIMIN'S ANALYSIS SUPERFICIAL
AND HIS PRESENTATION RAMBLING. EDITORIAL REACTION
WAS ALSO LESS THAN ENTHUSIASTIC: MAINICHI SAID
PRIMIN'S STATEMENTS REVEALED HE HAS NO INTENTION
OF LEARNING VALUABLE LESSON FROM TRIP, AND
INDEED THAT HE LACKS POLITICAL CONCEPTS NEEDED
BY JAPANESE PEOPLE. END COMMENT)

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PAGE 02 TOKYO 01153 02 OF 02 280454Z

5. EDITORIAL REACTION TO TRIP. SHOCKING AND UNEXPECTED
EVENTS IN JAKARTA PROMPTED BARRAGE OF ANALYSIS
AND CRITICISM IN ALL MEDIA. UNIFORMLY DOMINANT
THEME WAS THAT JAPANESE GOVERNMENT AND BUSINESSMEN
WERE BASICALLY AT FAULT AND SHOULD THEREFORE
QTE SELF REFLECT UNQTE ON ERRORS COMMITTED IN
PAST AND COME UP WITH EFFECTIVE REMEDIAL
MEASURES FOR FUTURE. THERE WAS VIRTUALLY NO
ATTEMPT TO MAKE EXCUSES FOR JAPANESE BEHAVIOR IN

SOUTHEAST ASIA, THOUGH SEVERAL NEWSPAPERS DID MENTION IN PASSING THAT GOI HAD NOT DONE ITS BEST TO ASSURE THAT TANAKA AND PARTY WERE PROPERLY TREATED AS GUESTS (FLAG-BURNING INCIDENTS WERE MENTIONED IN THIS CONNECTION). IT WAS ALSO WIDELY RECOGNIZED THAT JAPANESE WERE IN SOME MEASURE MADE SCAPEGOATS BY INDONESIAN MOBS FOR GRIEVANCES AGAINST THEIR OWN GOVERNMENT.

6. TO EXPLAIN WHY OUTBURST OF ANTI-JAPANESE SENTIMENT OCCURRED, MEDIA ARGUED THAT ALTHOUGH JAPAN WAS NOT ONLY MAJOR INDUSTRIAL NATION DOING BUSINESS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, JAPAN HAD ADVANCED TOO RAPIDLY AND HAD TAKEN OVER TOP SPOT WITH RESPECT TO BOTH INVESTMENT AND TRADE IN VIRTUALLY EVERY COUNTRY OF AREA. HENCE IN MINDS OF SOUTHEAST ASIANS, FOREIGN CAPITAL BECAME SYNONYMOUS WITH JAPANESE CAPITAL. EXCESSIVE JAPANESE INVOLVEMENT IN HIGHLY VISIBLE CONSUMER GOODS SECTOR WAS ALSO CRITICIZED. IN WHAT MAY HAVE BEEN PARTIAL COVERUP, ALMOST NO MENTION WAS MADE OF BLATANT JAPANESE INVOLVEMENT IN CORRUPT PRACTICES FOR WHICH THEY HAVE OF COURSE BEEN OPENLY EXCORIATED IN INDONESIA AND ELSEWHERE.

7. MEDIA ALSO CONDEMNED GOJ FOR AID PROGRAM DESIGNED ONLY TO PROMOTE NARROW JAPANESE ECONOMIC INTERESTS WITHOUT REGARD FOR WISHES OF RECIPIENTS. AID NOT ONLY FAILED TO HELP MASSES BUT WIDENED GAP BETWEEN THEM AND PRIVILEGED CLASS. MEDIA CALLED FOR REVAMPING AID PROGRAMS TO EMPHASIZE SOCIAL INFRASTRUCTURE (ROADS, SCHOOLS, MEDICAL FACILITIES). LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 03 TOKYO 01153 02 OF 02 280454Z

BUREAUCRATS WERE ACCUSED OF HAVING BEEN BLIND TO PROBLEMS AS THEY DEVELOPED. TANAKA WAS ALSO SCORED ON THIS POINT FOR HAVING PAID TOO MUCH ATTENTION TO US AND EUROPE THEREBY DELAYING HIS VISIT TO SOUTHEAST ASIA UNTIL TOO LATE TO BE EFFECTIVE.

8. IN CONTRAST TO SPECIFIC CRITICISMS OF GOJ, JAPANESE BUSINESSMEN WERE CRITICIZED ONLY IN GENERAL TERMS FOR BEING GRASPING, INSULAR AND INSENSITIVE TO LOCAL FEELINGS. MEDIA COMMENTED THAT BURGEONING JAPANESE ENTERPRISES IN MANY CASES INHIBITED GROWTH OF LOCAL INDUSTRIES, ADDING THAT SOUTHEAST ASIANS MIGHT UNDERSTANDABLY CONCLUDE JAPAN WAS TRYING TO DOMINATE THEM ECONOMICALLY.

9 REMEDIAL MEASURES. TO DATE, GOJ HAS OFFERED ONLY SCANT PUBLIC INDICATION THAT INCIDENTS OF TANAKA TRIP HAVE TRIGGERED SERIOUS EFFORTS TO CHANGE PREVAILING PRACTICES AND POLICIES. IN POLICY SPEECHES AT RECENTLY RESUMED DIET SESSION, PRIMIN TANAKA (TOKYO 888) AND FONMIN OHIRA (TOKYO 894) DID STATE THAT GOJ PLANS TO SHIFT EMPHASIS OF ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA TO AGRICULTURE, MEDICINE, EDUCATION AND COMMUNICATIONS. TANAKA ALSO ANNOUNCED CREATION OF NEW MINISTRY OF OVERSEAS ECONOMIC COOPERATION WHICH WILL PRESUMABLY HAVE ROLE IN PROVIDING QTE ADMINISTRATIVE GUIDANCE UNQTE TO JAPANESE BUSINESSMEN ABROAD. HOW SERIOUS THESE INTENTIONS ARE, AND HOW EFFECTIVE ANY NEW MEASURES OR INSTITUTIONS BECOME, WILL BE SUBJECT OF FUTURE REPORTING. SHOESMITH

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